

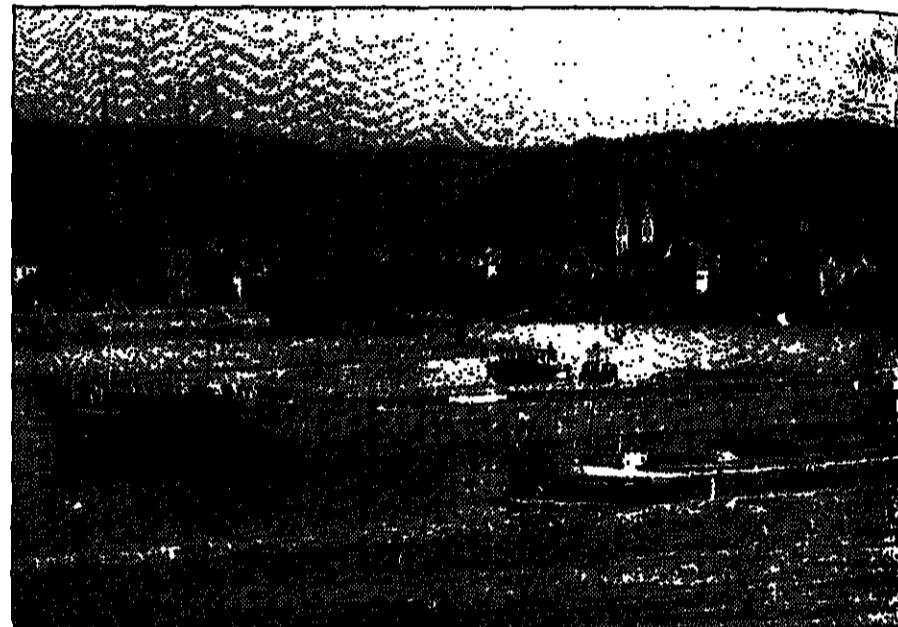
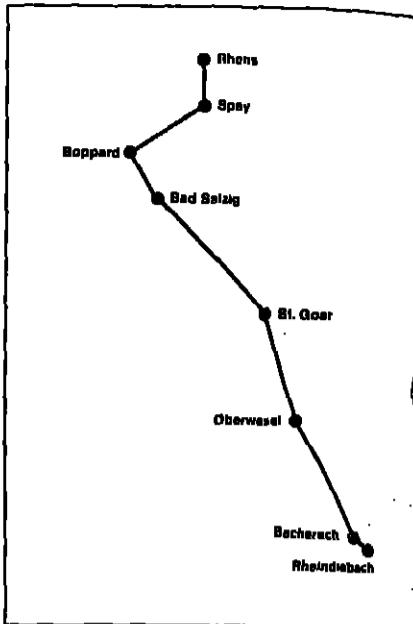
# Routes to tour in Germany

## The Rheingold Route

German roads will get you there — to the Rhine, say, where it flows deep in the valley and is at its most beautiful. Castles perched on top of what, at times, are steep cliffs are a reminder that even in the Middle Ages the Rhine was of great importance as a waterway. To this day, barges chug up and down the river with their cargoes. For those who are in more of a hurry the going is faster on the autobahn that runs alongside the river. But from Koblenz to

Bingen you must take the Rheingold Route along the left bank and see twice as much of the landscape. Take the chairlift in Boppard and enjoy an even better view. Stay the night at Rheinfels Castle in St Goar with its view of the Loreley Rock on the other side. And stroll round the romantic wine village of Bacharach.

Visit Germany and let the Rheingold Route be your guide.



- 1 Bacharach
- 2 Oberwesel
- 3 The Loreley Rock
- 4 Boppard
- 5 Stolzenfels Castle

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# The German Tribune

Hamburg, 26 February 1989  
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DEPOSE A BX X

## Bonn decides to defer missile decision

### Deutsche Zeitung

**What does a government do when it is caught on the horns of a dilemma? It postpones the decision, which is what Bonn has just done.**

Claiming there is no need for immediate action, Chancellor Kohl has chosen to bide his time on a decision that concerns the Americans and Nato.

On modernisation of the Lance short-range nuclear missiles stationed in Germany the Chancellor is not prepared to commit himself one way or the other before 1991.

The ambivalence is self-evident, with one half being aptly summarised by the liberal left-wing Paris daily newspaper *Liberation* as follows:

"Helmut Kohl reads the opinion polls" (which indicate substantial majorities against modernisation and for total denuclearisation in the defence of Europe).

Herr Kohl has more in mind. He knows, for instance, that his Foreign Minister is keen to circumvent missile modernisation.

Foreign Minister Genscher was the man who persuaded his party, the Free Democrats, to throw in their lot with the Chancellor's Christian Democrats in 1982.

Herr Kohl needs the Free Democrats as coalition partners to retain a majority even though the FDP may not, at present, be in position to join forces with the Social Democrats and form an SPD-FDP coalition.

The Chancellor has no intention of waging another "missile campaign" along the lines of the 1983 general election campaign, but this time without the support of Herr Genscher, who was a staunch supporter of missile modernisation in 1983.

What use are missiles, he may argue; if you forfeit power by championing them?

The other horn of the dilemma is Nato. America, Britain and France, our three leading partners in Nato, all now have their doubts about us West Germans.

Even the Dutch, who virtually invented the peace movement in 1978, have their doubts.

They suspect us of being too long on Gorbitalia and too short on realism, too keen on disarmament and not keen enough on defence preparedness.

They are afraid Bonn may be tempted to "Germanise" East-West ties in Europe, or see German (special) interests as their sole yardstick.

So intellectual trouble lies ahead for the North Atlantic pact, as is best evi-

denced by the hue and cry over Libya, the extent of which on both sides of the Atlantic can only be explained as a *par pro toto* in the mind's eye.

What with accrued mistrust on the one side and growing resentment on the other, the volatile mixture merely awaits a media spark to ignite the fuse.

Besides, the frame of nations' minds must not be taken lightly; in democratic systems appearances often count for more than the facts of the case.

The governments in Bonn and Washington have been slow to appreciate the problem, but they have not been too late in recognising it.

Chancellor Kohl had already sent Herr Schäuble, Minister of State at the Chancellor's Office, to Washington to reassure the US administration; President Bush followed suit by sending Secretary of State Baker to Bonn on the first leg of his first foreign tour.

The pattern has been a long-established one in German-American relations: the classic triad of excitement, coming down to earth and relaxation of tension.

Bonn has shown itself to be particularly ready for reconciliation where action was most urgently needed: on exports of sensitive chemicals and equipment.

Stricter export regulations more intelligently administered are now to ensure that there will be no repetition of Rabta, the poison gas factory in Libya that German firms helped to equip, to sour transatlantic ties.

No agreement has yet been reached on Nato's future in the Gorbachov era. This point was clear despite references to "extraordinarily warm and cordial talks" and the harmony they might seem to suggest.

In a nutshell, the Americans and other Nato partners are keen to see short-range nuclear missiles modernised, Herr Genscher isn't and Herr Kohl is biding his time.

The immediate outcome is already clear. The Chancellor's domestic weakness is his most effective bargaining point in foreign affairs.

His unspoken threat to Washington and Whitehall is: "If you aren't prepared to come to terms with me you may have



### Point of view

British Premier Margaret Thatcher tries out her opera glasses, a present from Chancellor Helmut Kohl (right). The two leaders met in Frankfurt for talks on European Community and defence topics.

(Photo: dpa)

## North Atlantic ties matter more than ever

### Bremer Nachrichten

Western European integration was said by Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission, at the end of US Secretary of State James Baker's first visit to Europe, to be a fruitful contribution toward international economic development in all sectors.

No-one threw stones at the glass-and-concrete European Community headquarters in Berlaymont, Brussels. Mr Baker and his European hosts were most easy with each other.

Had not President Bush said that very day that Washington and Bonn were much closer than was publicly apparent — and that he was not unduly worried about Nato unity?

It was, of course, striking that Mr Baker chose not to hold a press conference either after his talks with Nato secretary-general Manfred Wörner or after his visit to the European Commission.

That was an unusual move for an American politician; US politicians are usually keen on publicity. Herr Wörner and Mr Delors had nothing to say in public either.

Yet talk of a crisis and the impending demise of Nato ignores two facts that are the bedrock of transatlantic ties between North American and European democracies.

Their economic ties are so intricately continued on page 2

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## ■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

## Middle East states fear superpowers might impose solution on them

**Frankfurter Rundschau**

In few countries are speculation, rumour and surmise more rife than in Israel, partly because even minor details in world affairs can be of vital importance to what is a small country.

An item that made headline news in the Israeli media was the visit to Moscow by a basketball team from Tel Aviv.

It was seen as yet another small sign of rapprochement with a superpower that is doing its utmost to stay in the running in a crisis-torn part of the world.

Only two days after the Russian withdrawal from Afghanistan Eduard Shevardnadze set out on the first major tour of the Middle East for decades by a Soviet Foreign Minister.

Continued from page 1

Interlinked that they are condemned to success, as it were.

What is more, they are not just a group of states geared to market economy principles; they also share common values. Only about three dozen members of the United Nations are democracies.

These common values are based on a sound and respectable economic foundation. Last year one European investment in the United States totalled \$160bn, US investment in the European Community over \$120bn.

There are almost daily reports of fresh takeovers in both directions. Between them the European Community and the United States account for a third of the volume of world trade, 40 per cent of the world's GNP, 55 per cent of its motor-cars and 77 per cent of the world's output of aircraft.

America and the European Community are in the same boat. Internationally they have a common interest in advocating free world trade.

Trade between America and the Pacific Basin states may be roughly twice as high as with the European Community, while economic growth rates in Asia are, at eight to nine per cent, three times as high as in Europe.

But the European Community, in merging its 12 national economies into a single internal market, will be mobilising enormous economic reserves and stands a fair chance of achieving growth rates of over four per cent, on a par with Japan's.

US interest in the European market is almost audibly on the increase. The Senate noted at the end of January that Europe enjoyed high trade policy priority for the United States.

The European internal market may be depicted as a fortress on the other side of the Atlantic but it is also a link between the North Atlantic nations. Economic ties are set to increase, not to decline.

As for short-range missile modernisation, Belgium and Holland have voiced understanding for America, which is keen, as is Britain, to reach a decision on the issue so as to be able to negotiate with Moscow from a position of strength on a missile balance.

But they also appreciate Bonn's position. Bonn would prefer to defer the decision.

Both Washington and Bonn refer to building bridges. All 16 Nato members will have no choice to build them; they need each other as much as ever.

*Hermann Bohle*

(Bremen Nachrichten, 20 February 1989)

mits by the Soviet authorities has increased by leaps and bounds. Israeli consular offices in the Soviet capital are soon to return to their erstwhile embassy building, and after the Armenian earthquake Israeli military aircraft flew aid shipments to the Soviet Union.

His aim was reap the harvest of the Soviet withdrawal from the Islamic resistance movement, as envisaged by Soviet new thinking, which seeks to combine military appeasement and a diplomatic offensive.

But Moscow will not be able to really establish itself as a credible mediator alongside the United States until diplomatic relations with Israel, broken off in 1967, have been resumed.

This is a move that might well be made before the end of the year. It is certainly in keeping with the logic of a Soviet foreign policy aimed at helping to solve regional conflicts as a partner rather than as an adversary.

There has been no lack of clear pointers to the Kremlin's new policy toward Israel, Poland, Hungary and even the reluctant GDR have shown signs of readiness to talk and even to restore normal diplomatic relations.

The Soviet Union too has demonstrated an unprecedented ease in dealing with a state it had previously vilified as its Zionist arch-enemy.

The forthcoming visit to Washington by Premier Shamir of Israel will show what use President Bush plans to make

of his key role. The small states at loggerheads in the region are afraid the superpowers might go over their heads to resolve matters in the Middle East, where Washington and Moscow were last brought to the brink of direct confrontation in 1973.

This fear could have a salutary effect. The outlook certainly seems encouraging now the United States has embarked on a dialogue with the PLO and there are increasing signs in Washington the US government is losing patience with an Israeli government that is hitting instead of heading what it is told.

Moscow's moderating influence on Syria and the PLO, which was seen at work in Algiers, and Washington's gentle pressure on Israel will not, on their own, be enough to arrive at a political solution to a conflict to which any attempt to arrive at a military solution can only lead to catastrophe.

Understandably, Mr Shevardnadze began his tour in Damascus, which is still keen, with Soviet assistance, to achieve the position of military strength President Assad sees as striking a strategic balance with Israel.

If the Soviet Union were to succeed in taming Syria and making Damascus readier to negotiate, a great step would have been taken toward an international peace conference.

Israel would virtually no longer be able to resist if Moscow were to use the resumption of diplomatic relations to bring pressure to bear.

Leading Israeli politicians are agreed that one key to peace clearly lies in Moscow, while the other is held, hesitantly, by the new US President.

The forthcoming visit to Washington by Premier Shamir of Israel will show what use President Bush plans to make

Jörg Reckmann  
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 20 February 1989)

## More realistic bids to forge unity in Arab world

**W**hilst, or unity of the Arab nation, long predominated in Arab world politics. It was the credo of Arab nationalism.

All "progressive" Arab leaders, from Nasser to Gaddafi, have sought to unite the Arabs as a nation from the Atlantic to the Gulf.

Past decades have shown this objective to be a utopian wish, and this experience has led to experiments in regional cooperation.

Four Arab countries — Egypt, Jordan, Iraq and North Yemen — have decided to set up an Arab Economic Community.

Their cooperation is to begin with closer collaboration in the economic sector, to be followed by political cooperation.

There is no longer any talk of a merger, as in the days of the United Arab Republic.

Apart from this regional venture, which has yet to show its worth, there are two other areas in the Arab world that have already achieved closer cooperation (or plan to set about it soon).

The Gulf Cooperation Council, set up eight years ago, works fairly well. It consists of the six conservative Arab Gulf states Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman.

Saudi Arabia predominates in the GCC, which is not to everyone's liking, but in general the six states are so homogeneous that they have been able to establish a modicum of unity.

Yet three of the four are, basically, have-nots.

They all have conservative, tradition-

al systems of government. They all have petroleum revenues, although differing in degree. They all bear the hallmark of a Bedouin past weakened by progress but still very much apparent.

The second region that plans greater unity is the Maghreb, where the heads of state met in Marrakesh to discuss ways and means of setting up a Greater Arab Maghreb.

This is still a distant prospect, if not impossible. The most important prerequisite is for member-countries to bury the hatchet and harmonise their political systems to some extent.

It remains to be seen whether economic cooperation between them will function to any great extent.

Wolfgang Günther Lerch  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung  
für Deutschland, 16 February 1989)

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North Yemen is densely populated

26 February 1989 - No. 1360

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THE GERMAN TRIBUNE

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## ■ LIBYAN GAS FACTORY

# Making chemical weapons was its sole aim, admits Bonn minister

(Cocom). It is easy to call for legal clarity concerning exports of technology and documentation to certain countries. It is more difficult to create a solid basis in law for controls and penalties.

If technology is primarily to be used for civil purposes, but could be misapplied for military ends, then it is difficult to sort out items which can be exported and those which must have a licence or are even prohibited for export.

There are also headaches about the list of countries to which an embargo should be applied. Until now the list has officially only included countries which can be supplied according to Cocom rules, and for South Africa.

For a long time there have been internal instructions restricting certain exports to regions of tension in the Third World.

It remains to be seen whether the government dares formally to extend the list. Such a list would have to include the whole of the Middle East, including Israel, as well as India and Pakistan, both purchasers of nuclear technology.

Penalties are equally difficult. It is easy to call for tougher sanctions, but it is not so easy to define punishable acts and the sentences that should be applied.

It is agreed that attempts at making a fortune from illegal exports must be made more risky with the possibility of heavy fines and imprisonment. The deterrent effect must be reinforced.

They are included in the control system operated by the Coordinating Committee for East-West Trade Policy

lenient that when it comes to illegal exports the possible penalty is taken into account as an acceptable risk. The deterrent effect must be serious in intent.

There is considerable controversy whether government legislation should make it a punishable offence for German nationals abroad to assist outside this country in the production of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons.

If this were to become standard then the government would have to face considerable anger in foreign and development aid policies, and in academic exchanges.

Then German scientists and technicians, cooperating in the development and production of American chemical weapons would have to be punished.

If there are to be effective controls and severe penalties then data protection regulations must be relaxed. There is inevitably a link between greater

**Frankfurter Allgemeine**

controls and the exchange of information between the authorities responsible, making available to them more background material for the prevention and pursuit of illegal exports.

Exporting companies must allow the authorities access to their confidential affairs.

Intensive controls also imply more red-tape. Even if more people are employed in supervision of exports, there will be delays in granting licences and handling exports.

In addition the entrepreneurial room for manoeuvre for some exporters will be smaller, although a basic principle of the Foreign Trade Law is that the export industry should remain free of restrictions. That is the price of controls.

*Klaus Broichhausen*  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung  
für Deutschland, 15 February 1989)

Equally vital elements such as carbons and hydrogens are supplied by refineries and petro-chemicals plants on the spot.

Nitrogen and oxygen are available all over the world in unlimited quantities and free of charge.

The formulae for the poisons are frighteningly simple, their effects devastating.

Complicated plant is not required for their production, just relatively simple laboratories.

A technical laboratory for the development and production of vaccines would be adequate — and today there are laboratories of this sort in many developing countries.

Have German companies then supplied materials to Libya or Iraq which could be used to make chemical weapons?

According to statistics from the Association of the Chemicals Industry 71 million tons of chemical products were exported to Libya from the Federal Republic last year, that is less than one per cent of the chemical industry's total exports.

Synthetics valued at DM20m were supplied and DM12m of pharmaceuticals products. These were the two largest items in a long list.

It is hard to say what lay behind every delivery. Even the smallest amount could be too much.

*Klaus Dieter Oehler*  
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 11 February 1989)

## Formulas for poisons 'are frighteningly simple'

group of chemical companies, which handle dangerous chemicals, know one another well. Usually they are well informed about each other's business.

German chemists allegedly know no more than was contained in this book — and they have an explanation to hand for this.

In 1954, in the Brussels treaties, the Federal Republic renounced the production and possession of chemical weapons.

Furthermore the Federal Republic is the only country in the world so far in which the chemicals industry is voluntarily subject to annual controls by an international commission of the Western European Union.

How is it then possible for German companies, directly or indirectly, knowingly or unknowingly, to be involved in the production of chemical weapons in Libya and Iraq?

The answer is both astonishing and simple: basically that was not possible.

Only ten companies in the Federal Republic produce materials which are on the "Warning List."

These companies are: Bayer, BASF, Hoechst, Degussa, Kali-Chemie, Preussag, Riedel de Haen, Dr Schäfer & Lange, in Hamburg, Athenstadt & Dekeler in Bremen and the Chemische Fabrik Berg in Lüdenscheid.

According to one expert, this small

nerve gas tabun. Because of this, at the outbreak of the war between Iran and Iraq, the chemicals industry included the export of the most dangerous chemicals on the export list which automatically made them liable for an export licence.

Because of these close links it has more than once happened that "touchy" deliveries have been halted, because a competitor (or a friend?) has alerted the authorities responsible.

This has all happened; of course, without drawing public attention to the case — obviously companies do not want to scare off possible customers.

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## ■ EUROPE

## Brussels has difficulty in keeping tabs on narcotics trade and cash laundering

To call Manuel Angel del Pomar Cárdenas an honourable man would, until recently, have been almost an understatement.

He was a Peruvian MP, chairman of his country's parliamentary commission on human rights, president of the Peruvian Association of Chambers of Attorneys and an ardent advocate of moral standards in public life.

His image as a paragon of propriety seemed so unshakable that he grew overconfident.

How else is one to explain the fact that he ill-advisedly tried, on 28 September 1988, to cash a cheque for DM180,000 drawn on the account of a narcotics dealer, Manuel García, at a Berlin branch of the Commerzbank?

Instead of leaving the bank with a handsome sum of money he spent eight hours being interrogated at the Berlin police headquarters.

His diplomatic passport prevented him from having to submit to greater indignity, but his career as both a paragon of propriety and a cash courier was well and truly over.

The German authorities are not particularly interested in who will take his place. What interests them is what Peruvian narcotics money is doing in a German bank account.

What can they do about it? The case has certainly shattered a number of fond illusions, such as that the narcotics Mafia rely on the United States and Italy while laundering their ill-gotten gains in Switzerland.

Del Pomar's old friend García was arrested in Lima on 1 September 1988 for smuggling cocaine into the Federal Republic of Germany in truck wheels.

He was in contact with dealers in Britain and Germany. The bare-faced way in which Del Pomar tried to withdraw cash from his account four weeks later shows he had no fear of inconvenient questions by the bank.

The Berlin public prosecutor is still probing García's ties in the Federal Republic.

The bank refuses to comment in any way, arguing that the matter is under jurisdiction. The public prosecutor is satisfied with the assistance the bank has given, but the bank is not keen to publicise the fact.

What is the bank's general policy in such circumstances? Not, it seems, to ask as a rule where cash deposits originate.

Commerzbank officials say they see no need to consider more closely substantial remittances to and from Peru, the world's second-largest cocaine producer. "Banking secrecy" is all they have to say on the subject.

The Federal Association of German Banks holds a similar viewpoint. It sees bids to trace the path of narcotics money mainly as the result of pressure by the US authorities.

"There is a risk," the association warns, "of money laundering being cited as a pretext for probing all tax offences or offences of whatever kind in the United States."

The background to this unusual move is that Europe is fast becoming the world's most lucrative narcotics market. Interpol general secretary Raymond

**DIE ZEIT**

the authorities in tracing narcotics proceeds could plunge them into legal conflicts.

They might also make honest citizens feel mistrustful and, last but not least, place them at a disadvantage in relation to banks or countries that are less particular.

How else is one to explain the fact that he ill-advisedly tried, on 28 September 1988, to cash a cheque for DM180,000 drawn on the account of a narcotics dealer, Manuel García, at a Berlin branch of the Commerzbank?

The banking system can play a very important part in prevention," the committee said, "and the banks' cooperation is also most useful in helping the courts and the police to bring offenders to book."

But German banks take a dim view of checks as the reason why banks are so hesitant. The Council of Europe's Ministerial committee made it clear in June 1980 how important the banks' cooperation is in combating the laundering of illicit cash.

"The banking system can play a very important part in prevention," the committee said, "and the banks' cooperation is also most useful in helping the courts and the police to bring offenders to book."

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The UN convention on the narcotics trade agreed at the end of December requires signatory states to make legal provision for tracking down and confiscating narcotics proceeds.

They feel checks of substantial banking transactions are one of the successful ways of tracking narcotics dealers down.

Another is to allow supplies that have been identified to enter the country and to check their progress so as to identify the distribution network.

They still feel keeping tabs on the cash is the most effective means of identifying the men behind the trade.

Yet these moves all go too far for the likes of some national officials and some commercial banks. A European Community official explains why:

"These operations are naturally most profitable, and any bank manager will be delighted to conduct substantial transaction.

At present an individual's account is only checked in Europe if he or she is suspected of specific offence. When this is the case the banks are said to be misused by the narcotics trade."

But controlling cash flows as a means of identifying suspects in the first place is ruled out. And that is not all.

The European Commission has plans to introduce control mechanisms to combat money laundering. A working session has already been held with representatives of national authorities.

A strict system of supervision of banking transactions exceeding \$10,000, as in the United States, is ruled out.

It would, they felt, encourage banks to be more vigilant with regard to misuse of the payments system, to introduce effective defence mechanisms and to collaborate with the authorities.

This is, in part, a reference to principles that ought to be self-evident. The banks ought not to offer services or aid and abet transactions they may have grounds for assuming are connected with laundering ill-gotten gains.

Yet some demands are more far-reaching. They are expected to cooperate fully with the authorities, to train and sensitise staff and to introduce special procedures by which to identify customers and to keep internal records of transactions.

Banks' internal accountancy procedures might need to be overhauled to ensure that full cooperation is possible.

The Basle committee's document is not legally binding in any way, but national supervision agencies undertake to advocate the code of conduct and to encourage banks in their countries to do so.

The background to this unusual move is that Europe is fast becoming the world's most lucrative narcotics market. Interpol general secretary Raymond

### Continued from page 1

viet Union's willingness to give priority to demilitarisation in East-West relations.

Maybe military pacts will one day become superfluous. Conversely, disarmament may only be accomplished by an alliance whose members are rea-

sonably agreed among themselves.

Bonn deserves understanding of its dilemma, but it must take care to ensure that the pact is not pulled away from beneath it before a European peace order has rendered it superfluous.

Thomas Hanke

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 15 February 1989)

## ■ PERSPECTIVE

## Polls reveal deeply-rooted changes in the German's image of himself

A study by an American institute on the "quality of life" in 124 countries came up with some interesting results.

"Quality of life" was defined as an optimum combination of, inter alia, prosperity growth, life expectancy, protection of freedom and environmental conditions.

The Bonn government is well aware of the danger posed by the financial cloud of the narcotics trade:

"The risk of society being destabilised by the economic potential of criminal organisations has taken specific shape in a number of Third World countries, but it is a potential risk in advanced industrialised countries such as the Federal Republic too."

This earnest assessment of the situation is made by the Bonn Justice Ministry in explaining proposals to amend the criminal code to make it easier to confiscate the assets of convicted narcotics dealers.

The risk has been seen for what it is: the antidote adequate?

Customs officials feel it is intolerable that customs and narcotics squad investigations are brought to a halt at the bank teller's window.

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They realise that even the most firm believers have started to waver in the face of the erosion of the shared profession of faith.

The institutions of marriage and the family are also undergoing a critical process of fundamental change.

It is impossible to delve into the complex reasons for such fundamental changes within the framework of this brief appraisal.

Countless studies have taken a closer look at structural change in the family, at work, in the social environment, and, last but not least, at the repercussions of permanent time-consuming TV viewing and its adverse effects on imagination.

The clearly defined points of orientation which once existed, which imposed constraints but which also gave people their bearings, are in a state of flux.

The greater freedom brought about by this development has been accompanied by greater uncertainty and isolation.

Sustained social consensus has been lost in the wake of this rapid shift in values.

Eight years ago the Allensbach opinion research institute discovered that, in comparison with other countries in Western Europe and especially in comparison with the USA, the consensus between the generations (on moral, religious and political matters) is particularly weak in the Federal Republic of Germany.

On the other hand, the Germans are not a nation of cynics. There is a tremendous willingness to invest effort in social work and helping others.

The care shown for children and the socially underprivileged is probably greater than ever before. Many people are searching for a sense of meaning in life.

The lack of understanding and the inability to communicate between the generations seem to have been overcome.

The prerequisite for a new communication is the renunciation of suppression, of untrue talk, and of authoritarian behaviour.

Part of being credible is not to deceive others and to be willing to listen to arguments. Although the fringes may remain frayed this needn't upset the basis of life.

The historical questions relating to guilt and shame, to the causes and effects of the German catastrophes were

## Support for democracy is pragmatic, not idealistic

Germans support democracy in their native country "pragmatically, but not idealistically".

During the almost 40 years since the Federal Republic of Germany was founded, the political values and institutions have increasingly assumed the features of the English and American democratic systems.

This includes a sense of tolerance, compromise, liberty and opposition. This up-to-date description of the national and political consciousness of the West Germans is outlined in a book written by the *Deutsche Frage* (German Question) research group in Mainz to mark the 40th anniversary of the Federal Republic.

The book, edited by the political scientist Professor Werner Weidenfeld, of

Frankfurter Neue Presse, 23 January 1989

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## ■ ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

## Gatt: trenchant criticism and staunch support at Lausanne gathering

**D**uring the World Economic Forum, the annual meeting of international politicians and economic and monetary experts in the Swiss winter sports resort Davos, US economics expert Lester Thurow, professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), provoked delegates by saying: "Gatt is dead — let's drop the Uruguay round."

This opinion met with plenty of opposition.

The vice-president of the European Commission, Frans Andriessen, claimed that the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt) is more essential than ever before for the solution of international economic and trade problems.

In his opinion, all Gatt partners would suffer if the Uruguay round, the eighth round of Gatt negotiations on the liberalisation of world trade which began in September 1986 in Punta del Este, were to be discontinued.

European Community officials realise that the situation during and after the "interim balance" meeting of the representatives of Gatt member states at the beginning of December last year in Montreal has worsened.

Prospects for the future also look pretty gloomy.

The guests at the Davos forum agreed that the year 1989 — as Thurow predicted — would bring "incredibly serious trade conflicts."

Bon Agriculture Minister Ignaz Kieckle, however, warned against throwing in the towel and succumbing to a feeling of doom.

Kieckle's Austrian colleague, Josef Riegler, shared this view.

In Vienna and in the capitals of the other five Efta member states leading politicians and economists are convinced that the Uruguay round of negotiations and the Gatt system should not be buried.

The ambitious goal of creating a single European market by the end of 1992 has triggered a new optimism, a veritable "Europhoria".

According to a recent opinion survey by the European Parliament over half European Community citizens would vote for a common government if given the chance.

The Japanese and the Americans are already bracing themselves for the new challenge.

The welfare state has been forced to accept its financial limitations throughout the world.

In addition, there has been a desire for new economic stimuli since the long-lasting post-war boom came to an end during the 1970s.

Of course, the more concrete the negotiations and the clearer the balance of give and take, the greater the national opposition.

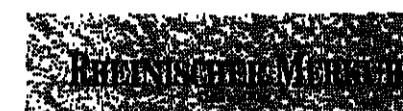
It is still not certain whether all the preconditions for the free movement of goods, services, labour and capital can be ensured during the remaining 46 months until the end of 1992.

Important questions have yet to be addressed.

The longer the discussion on details drags on, the less the appeal of the visionary.

As regards the shaping of politics in the European Community of the future there is still a struggle between those who trust in the creative power of institutions and those who would prefer to leave everything to market forces.

"Either we move forward courageously and single-mindedly or we fall back into mediocrity."



between the European Community and the USA over hormone-treated meat has been just as intransigent as during the "interim balance" conference on the Gatt Uruguay round in Montreal.

The eighth round of Gatt negotiations centres on worldwide agricultural problems.

Whereas substantial progress has been made in other important sectors with the help of individual arrangements, such as the services industry and the export of exotic produce, talks on improvements in the farming sector have made no headway.

This is unlikely to change as long as Americans stick to their maximum demands, say Frans Andriessen and Ignaz Kieckle.

Whereas the USA continues to insist that government farm subsidies should be removed by the year 2000, or at the latest within the next fifteen years, the Community calls for a pragmatic approach with short- and medium-term objectives.

In view of the completely different

structure of farming in the European Community, says Brussels, the Community cannot drop its financial assistance for farmers.

A large share of the Community's farmers are family businesses, with smaller farmland units on average than in the USA or with much less productive livestock.

Brussels feels that it is in a good position thanks to its previous moves towards reforming the farming sector.

It has repeatedly pointed out that Washington's per capita subsidies for the under three million US farmers are higher than payments to Community farmers.

Willy Croll, president of the German Raiffeisen Association (of agricultural credit cooperatives), commented as on the situation as follows:

"The US government has paid its farmers substantial subsidies for years on a scale equivalent to the gross national product of the American farming sector.

"We also know that the Japanese provide substantial subsidies for their farm sector and have no intention of reducing them.

"The American demand for a total reduction (of subsidies) is absolutely unrealistic."

Commissioner Andriessen, however,

## USA and Japan braced for Euro-challenge

The strength of the will to complete this market will show just how much political creative power Western Europe possesses.

The prospects for what the London weekly *The Economist* calls the big "adventure in deregulation" are more favourable than ever before.

The significance of the spirit of collectivism, which influenced economic policy thought and action for many years, has receded.

The welfare state has been forced to accept its financial limitations throughout the world.

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"Either we move forward courageously and single-mindedly or we fall back into mediocrity."

Centralism Brussels-style, as advocated primarily by the French president

admits that the Community must show greater flexibility during Gatt consultations.

Following the setback in Montreal the farm policy part of the Uruguay round high-ranking experts have been doing their utmost to find a way out of the deadlock.

The relevant Gatt bodies will continue their consultations on individual problems on 13 February in Geneva.

A new round of top-level, perhaps ministerial, level talks is scheduled for April.

No-one — at least officially — wants to talk about any "first-class funeral for Gatt."

It is during this difficult period of all periods that Gatt has received support from a completely unexpected source.

The Soviet Union has confirmed its serious interest in becoming a Gatt member. For the time being, however, this initiative has met with considerable misgivings.

Bon Agriculture Minister Kieckle remarked that he would welcome the Soviet Union as a new Gatt member providing it fulfills the necessary requirements.

A "global perestroika" in Soviet economic policy, including the convertibility of the rouble — a move envisaged by the Soviet side — and numerous other measures, would be needed to enable Moscow's accession to Gatt.

It remains to be seen what takes longer — this move or the conclusion of the Uruguay round of negotiations.

Hans-Peter Ohn (Rheinischer Merkur/Christi und Weihnachten, Bonn, 10 February 1989)

of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, faces the British brand of individualism formulated by Britain's Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher.

A book written by French author Alain Mine entitled "The Great Illusion" takes a critical look at Europe and comes to the conclusion:

"We expect a European miracle to save us from making the national efforts which are needed."

There are widespread fears that a centralised Europe could move the process of political decision-making even further away from the ordinary citizen.

However, these apparent contradictions are not insoluble, the obstacles are not insurmountable. A compulsory harmonisation in a bureaucratically standardised Europe is not the solution anyway. It only leads to more risks.

Although people today take part in what is happening in the world to a greater extent than ever before they also seek the security of the comprehensible as well as political and cultural individuality.

Over 100 years ago French politician and political writer Alexis de Tocqueville concluded in his analysis of the United States that federal sovereignty is only able to seize people's emotions in rare instances, but that the sovereignty of individual member states is rooted in heartfelt patriotic sentiment.

This also applies to a European Union and even more so to its economic "preliminary stage", the common internal market.

In the past computer firms could tie customers down to their own systems. What was once a strength is now regarded as a disadvantage.

Nixdorf obtains a half of its turnover from computer programmes. To make programmes compatible, capable of being interchanged with various systems, they have had to be re-written in a standard language, "Unix." That costs a lot of money.

At the same time the pressure from the competition has got greater. Compa-

This would indeed be a betrayal.

Continued on page 8

## ■ BUSINESS

## Computer firm surrounded by reports of imminent layoffs and a takeover

Rainer Göbel-Zimmer

T

he executive board of Nixdorf Computer AG, Paderborn, has tried in recent months to "put the record straight" on unpleasant press reports about how many jobs are to be cut, a drop in profits last year and a possible take-over by the competition.

At the end of January executive board chairman Klaus Luft tried to win back confidence in a major advertising campaign with a message presented at some length. The slogan said: "You can count on Nixdorf."

But Luft conceded there were difficulties — as he has done over the past year. He said that for cost reasons 1,600 jobs would have to go in 1989, and that profits were no longer satisfactory.

He declined to go into detail, keeping to the company's traditional reticence. Observers are looking forward to a press conference to take place shortly when probably the truth will be made known.

Then last year there was a bribery scandal. Many senior staff members were dismissed on the spot. The scandal did not so much harm the company's business as its image and public confidence in the company's internal controls.

titors are moving into the market of the small and medium-sized companies where Nixdorf has been highly successful for a long time, providing tailor-made solutions to customers' problems. Furthermore this market is not an infeasible as it was once supposed.

Critics maintain that Nixdorf protects its market share with prices which do not cover costs, for instance in business with digital extension exchanges, which is becoming more and more important — the company denies these reports.

The company has had internal problems as well. Compared with international practice, Nixdorf is a company which leads in investment for research and development. In 1987 DM450m (nine per cent of turnover) was allocated for R & D. This is proudly emphasised by management.

But in the supervisory board the question is asked which important products was fostered with this money. Traditionally Nixdorf has not engaged in development for its own computers. All innovations have been brought in from outside the company.

Experts do not see much likelihood of an increase of the share price due to undenied rumours about the sale of the company (to Bosch, for example, or a bank). A company strength is that it has about DM3bn of its own capital (about 60 per cent of the balance sheet total), which is now paying off. Nixdorf can afford considerable indebtedness.

The stock exchange reacted sharply to these unfavourable reports. The quoted price of preferential shares plummeted suddenly from their 1984 level of DM380. Ordinary shares, which were traded in the middle of 1987 for DM870, could only be sold at DM290 at the end of the year.

There are hardly any buyers at today's price of DM340. The slogan is sell. Market analysts are already predicting that there will be no operational profit for 1988.

An indication of this is the announcement of the sale of company real estate. It is being concluded that extraordinary profits of this sort would be essential to be able to pay the minimum dividend of DM4 on preferential shares.

If Nixdorf did not make this pay out and did not make it up next year (then at least DM8 per share) the preferential shares would suddenly have voting rights.

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"You can count on Nixdorf" . . . chief executive Luft.

Seventy-five per cent of the basic capital is held by two non-profit foundations, as arranged by founder Heinrich Nixdorf, who died in 1986, and 25 per cent by the Nixdorf family. According to company statements this ensures for the company long-term independence.

Speculations about a sale do not stop. Despite all denials if it is being contemplated to sell the company the deal should be concluded during this year. By the end of 1989 favourable tax regulations come to an end for gains made from the sale of company assets.

Willi Feldgen  
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne,  
11 February 1989)

which has become apparent in other multinationals. They are beginning to regard Europe as a standardised market.

According to Maljers Unilever, a producer of foodstuffs and detergents, operates on divisional lines. This means that the production of the various divisions of the national companies are controlled centrally.

But distribution and marketing will be decentralised in future, he said.

This is being done, he said, because tastes in the various European countries were so different it was impossible to serve them centrally.

Hilti is worried about plans to tighten up Unilever's production structure — in future Unilever will have only one or three factories per product in Europe.

In such a strategy no national company, and certainly no individual works council, will know which factory could be the next to be affected.

The works council can do nothing through German law against concepts decided upon in Holland.

For this reason Hilti has for some time called for a pan-European committee for all national works councils to be able to deal with information as quickly as possible.

Maljers has stated in writing that he could see no purpose in such a committee, and he expressed the view that pan-Europe the differences were too great and the solidarity too negligible.

Almost at the same time at the end of last year Maljers and his executive board decided to concentrate production of Lever detergent definitely at Mannheim. This means that 100 workers in Hamburg can either move to Mannheim or take early retirement.

Rudolf Paul  
(Bremer Nachrichten, 13 February 1989)

## ■ HOUSING

## Still not enough cheap enough, say critics

An electrician with a wife and three children ought to be able to pay between DM10 and DM15 a square metre to rent an apartment," says the manager of a housing agency.

"Let us assume the apartment, for a family of five, has a surface area of 90 square metres, which at a rough guess would mean three bedrooms.

It would then cost between DM900 and DM1,500 a month plus overheads such as a share of the water rate, ground rent, refuse disposal and so on.

Heating, electricity, gas, telephone are extra. "He must be prepared to pay a third of his take-home pay in rent," the agent says. "That's normal."

Normal or not, the agent would prefer not to be named. But he makes no bones about his personal views on the housing problem:

"A housing problem only exists in quaker-striken Armenia. In Germany it is merely a matter of brisk demand."

On this point he and Bonn Housing Minister Oscar Schneider, CSU, are agreed. Dr Schneider too constantly reassures all and sundry that there is no such thing as a housing problem in the Federal Republic.

Critics, in contrast, claim there is a shortage of inexpensive apartments for young people and low-income families.

The more inexpensive apartments are often to be found in small towns and remote areas a long way away from where people work or from industrial locations of any kind.

In Bamberg, Bavaria, a three-roomed apartment is on offer for DM390 a month. In Nienberge, near Münster, a modern three-roomed apartment is going for DM550.

(The term "three-roomed" does not include kitchen and bathroom, so it might arguably best be compared with a two-bedroomed apartment in English usage.)

Where the jobs are, however, many people have to pay through the nose for somewhere to live: two, three or four times as much as the rents just quoted.

This used to be the case only in Munich, but it is now true of more and more German cities.

"Three-roomed apartments are virtually no longer on offer for less than DM1,000 a month," says Eckhard Heinrich of a

Frankfurt tenants' advice bureau. "Would-be tenants are pricing each other out of the market." Estate agents have already taken the hint. Six out of seven in Berlin said they no longer handled rented apartments, only apartments and houses for freehold or leasehold sale.

It is hardly surprising that more and more landlords are keen to make established tenants pay more.

A Frankfurt tenants' group cites instances. The apartment of a couple aged 76 and 79 was to be modernised — and the rent increased. The old couple refused.

So the landlord simply had their chimneys demolished, leaving them without heating. Another tenant came home to find the rear wall of his toilet demolished.

A Munich tenants' group is equally dismissive of Dr Schneider's opinion that no housing problem exists.

"Why, that's simply ridiculous!" a spokesman says. In Munich so many people are so desperately seeking somewhere to live that landlords are sorely tempted to charge the earth.

In Munich the average rent for an 80-square-metre apartment, without a balcony or any other special features or desirable location, is now DM1,400. Two thirds of a wage packet or salary often go toward the rent in Munich; half is the rule.

Only two days beforehand, the spokesman said, there had been a case of a man paying DM340 a month for a single 10-square-metre room, with the use of neither a kitchen nor a shower.

There was only one shower in the entire building, and it was usually out of order. The landlord certainly didn't service it, and it was shared by 45 tenants!

What is more, 35,000 Munich people are on the waiting list for low-cost homes. Last year the municipal housing department was able to house 5,500 families.

In north Germany the situation is less desperate. Yet Georg Witwer, Housing Senator in Berlin, is in no doubt what he would like from Dr Schneider: "One, and three: more cash for apartments!"

In Hanover the head of the municipal housing department, Oswald Renno, says there may not be a housing problem there, but there is a shortage. Cheap apartments are no longer on offer. Looking for somewhere to live can take months.

In 1961 Ludwig Erhard wrote: "In view of the international political situation the moral justification for the EEC is primarily rooted in the willingness and receptiveness to seek conciliation with the rest of the free world in the socio-economic field."

Besides, more and more landlords and tenants are cashing in on the shortage. "Furnishings for sale to the highest bidder" is a phrase regularly encountered in the small ads, and there is usually a mad rush at the visiting times specified.

Annette Ramelsberger  
(Hamburger Abendblatt, 8 February 1989)

## An attempt to polish up the image of high rise

We must give serious consideration to demolishing high-rise housing," Bonn Housing Minister Oscar Schneider said last February in an interview with *Die Welt*.

Housing Ministry officials now seem to be thinking more in terms of giving high-rise suburban housing a fresh lease of life by means of "improvements" and refurbishment.

The controversial Märkisches Viertel housing estate in Berlin is a pilot project. A number of cosmetic changes are said to have worked wonders.

New plate-glass entrances to tenement blocks, with porches, rubber trees, fresh lighting and mirrors in the elevators and corridors do more than make the ground floor more attractive.

They are claimed to have an educational effect. Vandals are said to have declined perceptibly.

Ministry officials now feel high-rise suburban housing estates might be made to appear more attractive — and not just doomed to urban decay and eventual demolition.

"They are fine, modern housing," says the Ministry's Hans Pflaumer. He even has a good word for high-rise housing as such.

By concentrating housing and building upward, as opposed to, say, ribbon development, planners have saved many acres of land that might otherwise have been residentially developed.

Herr Pflaumer has just briefed the German Architects' Association in Bonn on the findings of a white paper on high-rise housing commissioned by the Bundestag from the Housing Ministry.

The reason for the poor image of

**Continued from page 6**  
the principles of free trade and of our commitments to the world.

"The local paper with the small ads is on sale from about 10 p.m.," says Stefanie, a student. "But nearby telephone booths are busy, leaving people like me, without a telephone of their own, out in the cold."

Besides, more and more landlords and tenants are cashing in on the shortage. "Furnishings for sale to the highest bidder" is a phrase regularly encountered in the small ads, and there is usually a mad rush at the visiting times specified.

Jürgen Jeske  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung  
für Deutschland, 16 February 1989)

high-rise suburban housing estates is, he feels, a wide range of misinterpretations.

Many people say these estates are inhuman and unbearable, yet the facts belie such claims. The average tenant spends 11.6 years in a Märkisches Viertel apartment, which isn't at all bad.

Claims of high housing density in estates of this kind are also usually inaccurate, he says. Most include so much open land that further development would be possible.

As for allegedly high crime rates, the have more to do with the categories of tenants housed than with the character of high-rise housing itself.

Municipal housing departments tend to house "problem families" in estates of this kind, he says.

Journalists who toured high-rise estates in Cologne, Hanover and Berlin said planners were indeed told by individual residents to rehouse "problem families" in poor-houses.

Ministry officials told the Architects' Association they favoured "improvements" to the roughly 300 high-rise housing estates in the Federal Republic which between them house roughly two million people.

As the Ministry's Hartmut Meuer, sociologist, puts it, these estates have literally "marked time" in town planning terms.

Hamburg architect Olaf Gibbin listed examples of possible improvements.

They ranged from "designer" doorbells and nameplates to plate-glass facades and from penthouse apartments on flat roofs to greenery on concrete frontage.

More trees could be planted, he said, and regulation lawns be replaced by gardens to be kept in trim by the tenants.

The Federal government has invested DM47m in schemes of this kind, but housing associations are less enthusiastic than Ministry officials had hoped.

Could it be that Dr Schneider was nearer the truth when he said, a year ago, that demolition was the best solution?

"There are high-rise housing estates," he said, "that can't be properly maintained because rental income isn't enough to keep the interiors in reasonable condition, let alone the exteriors."

Dankwart Guntzsch  
(Die Welt, Bonn, 15 February 1989)

## ■ COMPUTERS

## Mastering Chinese in three none-too-easy lessons

Computer expert Peter Cassiers says he was amazed when his computer was able to distinguish between an "l" and a "1" (a lower-case l and the numeral 1).

"Can you?" he asks, promptly answering "Only in context."

His fellow-research scientist at the department of metrology and automatic control technology at the Technical University in Berlin nod in agreement.

Each character incorporates a graphic factor derived, over the millennia, from pictorial representation.

All characters that have anything to do with medicine, for instance, are topped with a stylised bunch of medicinal herbs.

"But we had to teach the computer an entirely different reading method," Suchenwirth says. Each printed character is first read in four directions and classified by the quantity and frequency of black, or printer's ink, encountered.

Once the computer has registered these data the character as scanned on paper by what amounts to a video camera can then be reproduced on the monitor screen.

"Our original objective," says project director Irmlried Hartmann, "was to achieve 95-per-cent reading accuracy. We have now reached 98 per cent."

To reach this degree of accuracy the scanner and the computer to which it is

part of the problem; reading them — and understanding the combination of pictograms and syllabic characters — is much more problematic.

Depending on the dictionary used, Chinese script consists of a nucleus of between 40,000 and 60,000 characters.

It is no small consolation, as Suchenwirth puts it, that the 3,755 characters the Berlin computer has been taught to read make up roughly 98 per cent of the characters actually used.

Attached had to memorise Chinese characters — just like students do.

When the project began, the Berlin research scientists keyed about 6,000 Chinese characters into the computer, which is one day intended to make life easier for librarians.

Programmes that combine text input and scanner systems, i.e. both reading and writing, might sell like hot cakes in the Far East. But the Berlin project is nowhere near that stage yet.

"We still need an entire day to read a single page of a Chinese magazine," Hartmann says. By the year after next, when the DM120,000 project is scheduled for completion, the printer should be able to print out a page a minute.

But the scanner still has much to learn before this speed can be achieved.

The project was presented in Moscow last October after a procedure had been devised, at the double, by which the computer can read the Roman and the Cyrillic alphabets.

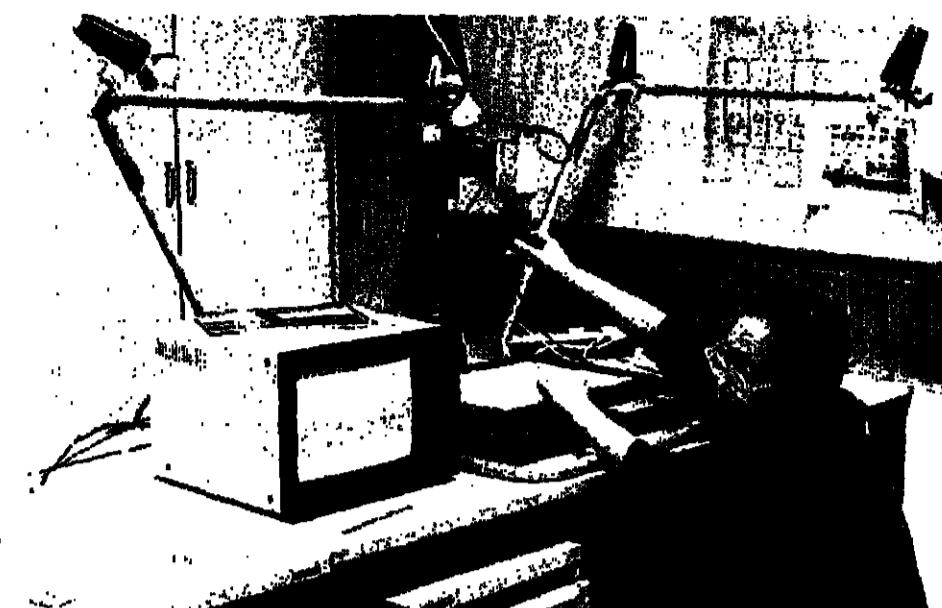
They are shortly to be joined by Japanese characters. The Berlin project staff feel Korean characters are feasible too.

"But it will be a long time before computers can accurately translate Chinese," Suchenwirth says. He should know.

Each Chinese character can have as many as several dozen meanings. The computer has yet to be taught to memorise more than three.

Jürgen Kreibidpa

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 February 1989)



(Photo: dpa)

## Larry is here — possibly with a virus

Several hundred thousand Germans are sure to be on first-name terms with Larry, a computer game character from the United States.

Entered into company computers via thousands of floppy disks, Larry makes a beeline across the monitor screen in his quest for Miss Right.

He is extremely popular with a growing number of people who work at computer keyboards and monitor screens all over Germany — and less so with employers.

Stall slash Larry onto their screens for a quick game whenever they have a spare moment (at the company's expense), and not just during their lunch break or after hours.

Few firms are prepared to admit that Larry is such a frequent denizen of their VDU, that he might well be on their payroll. He certainly costs time and money.

A head of department at one large Hamburg firm in charge of the company's personal computers gingerly admitted to having heard of the game.

Members of the Chaos Computer Club, a Hamburg-based club notorious for the feats of its computer hackers, say everyone knows Larry.

The game's programme is to be found on floppy disks in countless handbags and briefcases. It is slipped into the company's computer as soon as no-one is looking, as it were.

Larry can be brought closer to Miss Right on the computer screen if you know the right code words, but as in all games, there are countless pitfalls en route.

Players are awarded points for heading him in the right direction. Failure to do so disqualifies them: they're out of the game.

A mere computer game may be no more than a time-wasting nuisance. But many companies are worried that pirated copies of the game may be infected by a computer virus.

So many pirated copies are in circulation that some may indeed need to be debugged. Any virus they bring with them might, if the worst comes to the worst, break down the entire system.

Computer freaks readily admit that this could happen. No-one can say how faulty a pirated copy of a computer game may be.

dpa  
(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 12 February 1989)

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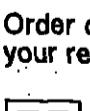
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## ■ THE ARTS

## A thinking man's show springs up down at the old Tigerpalast



Johannes 'Johnny' Klinke stands by the box office of his Frankfurt music hall. He is dressed in a dinner jacket, greets all his guests and shows them to the sumptuous seats in the dance hall, where the show is just about to begin.

Klinke, 38, once a leading light in the student movement of 1968, said that his present job was host. His father was a Berlin pastor.

He is the originator and director of the Tigerpalast, "the only intelligent, midnight music hall in Germany," as he puts it.

The music hall opened its doors for the first time in October last year and puts on mainly music hall artists in the classical vein.

For instance escape artist Hans Mori emerged unscathed from a box pierced by 18 sabre holes on the stage.

Ernest Montego juggles with burning torches. Between the performances there is music: Anne Bärenz, for instance, on keyboard instruments and Frank Wolff cello, whose repertoire extends from pop ballads by Guesch Patti to compositions by John Cage.

There is a compère who links up the acts and occasionally amuses the audience with a little cabaret-style patter. Matthias Beltz, the other director of Tigerpalast, did this recently.

After the performances the chairs are taken away from the floor in front or the stage to provide room for dancing. Then the house band lets rip.

Anyone who does not feel like doing the tango or the jive (or people who don't know how to dance these dances) can go via a stairway to the white-painted vaulted cellar

and eat at sophisticated prices — if the guest is still hungry after a "Variété Dish" including shrimps, ham and vol-au-vent. Guests are served at small round tables by waiters wearing waistcoats decorated with imitation tiger fur. The visitor is also confronted with show-business history in the restaurant. Original posters from the 1920s recall famous artists and dance halls of the entertainment world, flourishing up to the end of the 1950s, such as Hamburg's Hansa-Theater, a world of entertainment now swallowed up by television. Klinke admitted: "We want to recall all that but not ape it." That would obviously not be a good thing. In the famous music halls of the past,

On balance, it's an act... Francis Brunn earning a living at the Tigerpalast.

(Photo: Tigerpalast)

such as the Wintergarten in Berlin, destroyed in a 1943 bombing raid, as many as 3,500 could be entertained.

Putting it mildly the Tigerpalast with seating for 180, is very modest beside that.

There is an unobtrusive, intimate atmosphere in the dance hall, since the guests are hunched up close to one another and no-one is more than 15 metres away from the stage.

The word "Palast" in the name of the place can only be understood in an ironic sense. The question remains, however, what the noun "Tiger" implies.

Klinke explained: "In China the tiger is a symbol of energy and courage. This is also an 'Energiepalast'."

The impresario himself needs plenty of energy to keep the project going. Klinke roamed the whole of Europe's music halls for five years. He fought for his idea and eventually he was offered support.

The CDU city council of Frankfurt contributed almost DM2 million for the renovation of the washed-out building. Until 1988 the Salvation Army had conducted its services there for 60 years.

The state of Hesse offered a loan at favourable interest rates and a French brewery offered an additional credit.

Despite all this "Tigerpalast GmbH" had to find about one million deutschmarks for the conversion, which cost in all DM4 million, before Tigerpalast could be opened to the unanimous applause of politicians and well-wishers.

The opening was attended by prominent Frankfurt politicians, including four senior civic officials, and the SPD candidate for the mayoralty, Volker Hauff. This was the first step in the "city's great enterprise."

Klinke has been successful in bringing the true music hall atmosphere to Frankfurt. He said: "Here there are just discos and sex, on the one hand, and on the

## The Little Shop of Horrors and a whole lot more as well

Musicals are in, be it the old warhorse, *West Side Story*, or the humorous subway melodrama *Line 1*, put on by Berlin's Grip Theater, which has guaranteed a full house for performance after performance at Hanover's Ballhof.

Or the rock ballet *Love or War* at Hanover's Opera House, music provided by the Hanover band "Fun Key B."

In this season alone Helmut Zocher is bringing six musicals to Hanover's Theater am Aegi handled by his concert tour agency.

Last summer Klaus Ritgen brought to Hanover for 14 days Andrew Lloyd Webber's *Evita*. Since then the young and not-so-young have turned up in crowds for musicals.

They clap their hands to the rhythms, bob up and down in time and hum the hits and catchy tunes long after the curtain has dropped.

*Evita* was recently again put on at the Theater am Aegi by an ensemble from Budapest.

Speaking about the continuous interest in musicals Zocher said: "I want to appeal to young audiences with musicals. You cannot go on producing *My Fair Lady* or *Jesus Christ Superstar*."

For this reason he has put on a couple of lively productions in this season. *The Little Shop of Horrors*, performed by the Musical Company from New York last November, was given favourable reviews by the critics.

The *Rocky Horror Show* was a production of the cult film bringing the lively transvestite character "Frank-n-furter" live on stage. Both productions were well received by young audiences.

Zocher recalled that some members of the audience turned up wearing wild clothes, the girls showing stocking suspenders. The Horror Band will make further appearances towards the end of February.

A new production, premièred in Böblingen last November, is also earmarked for Hanover. It is not an American

(Handelszeitung, 26 January 1989)



Thomas Killinger's musical Quasimodo.

(Photo: Peter Peisch)



On balance, it's an act... Francis Brunn earning a living at the Tigerpalast.

(Photo: Tigerpalast)

## ■ THE ARTS

## Meeting place for the avant-garde: kaleidoscope in a state of flux

DAAD is a self-governing organisation of German universities and art, music and theological colleges set up to support the exchange of scientists and students with other countries. It was originally established in 1931 as a replacement for another agency which had been in operation since 1924. After the war, in 1950, it was re-established in its present form. Since 1964, DAAD has every year organised an Artists Programme in Berlin. Lore Ditzel reports for the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

protagonists of the American art scene, the jokers of the inter-media "Fluxus" movement and, in the 1980s, leading representatives of Latin American literature.

Everyone who represented the forceful streams in contemporary life was included in the guest list, thanks to members of the selection committee who had a keen nose for what was going on.

Many have left traces of their visit in the city, not just the transitory performances and exhibitions, but in works which have resulted from their experience of Berlin, or artworks which have been acquired by the Berlinische Galerie for its collection, or in works that can be displayed in the open in the city.

Translators, and publishers, have been found for books written by guests to the Programme. The series of Literary Colloquium are available to them, films and compositions have been created and produced.

A DAAD gallery shows works from studios and is a meeting place for readings and for a "translators' workshop." West Berlin's international contacts have become a lot easier than they were in the early years of the Artists Programme, when the writer Gombrowicz, for example, was sorry there was not a literary café, and the first director of the Programme, Peter Nestler, held open house at his apartment for the guests, who at that time complained about loneliness and the difficulties of making themselves understood.

Other events are named "Interkulturelle Kontaktprodukte" and the art exhibition is entitled "Balkon mit Fächer" instead of the originally announced "Ein Traum mit Sahne" (A dream with cream.)

Both titles are borrowed from the works of the Belgian artist Marcel Brodhaers. He, like all the other participants in this artistic kaleidoscope, were guests at the Berlin Artists Programme of the German Academic Exchange Service — the German initials are DAAD.

Everything is in a state of flux, everything is new, everything is open, everything is possible: for the past 25 years this Programme has been a part of Berlin's cultural life. Artists from all over Europe have turned up for it, but increasingly artists from all over the world.

The event was devised by Shepard Stone, a tireless promoter and initiator of the arts in Berlin, disregarding frontiers, (from the Free University to the Aspen Institute). He was formerly a director of the Ford Foundation.

Thanks to this institution 700 guests have been able to live and work in Berlin as "Artists in Residence" for a few months, firstly supported by the Ford Foundation and then as scholarship-holders of the DAAD.

Many of them have important positions in the arts of our time. Ingeborg Bachmann, W. H. Auden, Witold Gombrowicz, Zbigniew Herbert, Lars Gustafsson, were brought to Berlin in the first years, a time when roaming about the world was not so common and certainly not to Berlin.

These were writers with a critical outlook on contemporary life and the poetic language of a sensitive and easily disturbed experience of the world.

The naughty boys of the Vienna Group came with Artmann, Achleitner and Rihm, unique theatre groups such as Tabori and film-makers such as Tarantino. Outlawed Greeks from the "Colonels' Regime" came, Italians who were not yet commercially exploited,

the pace-makers of avantgarde music, the classical moderns. There is no other word for it but to describe the exhibition as unique.

It is made up of 60 masterpieces, not only pictures of the most renowned artists of our century, but also their

ters and reviews, the two authors have successfully highlighted the course of this Berlin event in the work they have produced for the DAAD.

With the wealth of art available today it has been forgotten how much excitement was generated to us in the early days of the Programme — including friendships and personal relationships, particularly with those among the artists who remained in Berlin after the termination of their scholarships.

The 25th anniversary programme showed a few trends. For the fine arts the present Berlin director of the DAAD Artists Programme, Joachim Sartorius, commissioned an exhibition from Rudi Fuchs from Holland, who was responsible for the last *documenta* in Kassel.

Fuchs decided to present the works of 50 of the 250 visual artists who have participated in the Programme; the concept is quite arbitrary.

The exhibition has been mounted in the Akademie der Künste and is not devoted to works that have been produced in the months the artists have been in Berlin, but concentrates on what the artists themselves regard as their best work.

Works with the colours not yet properly dry hang next to paintings which are authentic evidence of the artist's stay in Berlin.

The multi-dimensional, painted objects *Pharao* by the Venetian Emilio Vedova are examples of the latter. They recall the period 25 years ago, when Vedova, then a grand master of abstract neo-expressionism, now a grandfather, stormed into the former studio of sculptor Arno Breker.

The exhibition does not make good the promise of these objects as docu-



Susumu Arakawa exhibit at DAAD arts show in Berlin. (Photo: Catalogue)

mentation of Berlin as a city of the arts. It remains "democratic," as Fuchs put it, distant and independent, and an example of what a real artistic exhibition can teach us: anything goes between expressionistic tendencies, conceptual art, minimal art, photo realism and performance.

It would be pointless to name names here: too many would be omitted (apart from international, renowned artists unknown artists have also appeared at the DAAD Programme).

The quality of the various artists can be accepted or denied, depending on the disposition of the observer.

The whole is exactly a "Balkon mit Fächer," Berlin as a lookout post into the art world, a cross-section, certainly not an average.

The versatile and nutritious DAAD Programme is just one of the many images in this kaleidoscope.

The DAAD exhibition will be put on at the Dumont-Kunsthalle in Cologne from May to July and then in the autumn displayed at the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague.

Lore Ditzel

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 30 January 1989)

main works. There are works by Picasso, Braque, Léger, Modigliani, Chagall, Klee, Kandinsky, Miró, Dubuffet and de Chirico.

These works are in themselves a review of the history of modern art.

The exhibits were selected for the Berlin exhibition by Thomas Messer, former director of the Guggenheim Museum in New York, in collaboration with Berlin colleagues.

It can only be fully understood when one bears in mind the comment Messer made. He said that he did not intend "to make a point with the exhibition."

What is shown has for a long time been caricatured.

The exhibition includes no sculptures or pictures from the 19th century. As it is limited to only 60 paintings visitors can concentrate beneficially on every individual work.

A broad view must not degenerate into a great exhibition, as this one shows.

Nevertheless to give a broad view with relatively few exhibits, and to do so brilliantly, as does this exhibition of the Guggenheim pictures, one must be able to fall back on a collection which probably only a few museums in the world could keep up with.

Claudius Crönert

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 15 February 1989)



Matissé's 1916 'Laurette' at the Guggenheim exhibition. (Photo: dpa)

the classical moderns. There is no other word for it but to describe the exhibition as unique.

The exhibition in the Nationalgalerie offers a view of the work of the art of

## ■ THE ENVIRONMENT

# Efforts to halt transport of toxic waste to Third World countries

**M**ostafa Kamal Tolba, an internationally renowned biologist, served President Sadat of Egypt for years as a political adviser. He has also been his country's Education Minister, cultural attaché and president of the Academy of Sciences.

Now aged 66, he has been director of the United Nations Environment Programme since 1976. He is a man with a powerful personal aura, an engaging sense of dignity and an extremely even temper.

Yet on the third day of the UN talks on toxic waste shipments even he lost his temper. "Just what do you want?" he asked representatives of the industrialised world. "Do you want to ship even more toxic waste overseas?

"What on earth do you have in mind for the Third World? I thought we were here to impose restrictions at long last on an increasingly dangerous threat."

Embarrassed silence descended on the conference chamber.

Until this outbreak of bad temper on the UNEP director's part the representatives of the industrialised world had merely played for time.

It was the fourth time delegates from 50 countries had met in Luxembourg to draft regulations for the export of toxic waste mainly from the industrialised countries in the Third World.

Their conference brief was to contain what Greenpeace has called the "dirtiest

## DIE ZEIT

business in the world." But the Western states merely played for time, and although this approach is not, as UNEP's Jan Huismans put it, "altogether sensitive, politically speaking," it is at least comprehensible.

Greenpeace published to coincide with the Luxembourg conference a dossier on the waste trade which made the point that the industrialised countries shipped over three million tonnes of waste to the less developed world between 1986 and 1988.

At present roughly 150 firms are engaged in the trade of shipping toxic waste to the Third World.

To take a few examples, Transtech NV of Belgium and the Zürich-based Agriswiss Panama Corp. are said by Greenpeace to be keen to set up gigantic waste tips in Somalia.

Arnold Andreas Künzler, a Basle mercenary-turned-arms dealer, plans to build three gigantic toxic waste plants in Angola to incinerate roughly five million tonnes of industrial waste in four years.

A cargo of 324 drums of pesticide residue, contaminated detergents and other chemical waste from Italy is still

stockpiled on the Turkish Black Sea coast, having been washed ashore there last summer.

American flue ash illegally shipped to Haiti by the freighter *Khan Seu* is similarly still awaiting collection as promised.

After an Odyssey lasting nearly three years the ship's captain said he had been able to dump part of his cargo "somewhere between the Suez Canal and Singapore," and not at sea but "on land."

The unanimous and vociferous indignation about toxic waste exports that was expressed last year is evidently here today, gone tomorrow as soon as specific measures to call a halt to the trade are envisaged.

The International Confederation of Chemical Industry Associations (Cefic), for instance, has played down the trade as a "legitimate business activity."

Many garbage trucks, when suitably fitted out, are said to be no more dangerous than other merchandise shipments. Besides, the country of destination does not need to let the shipment in.

Last November the industrialised countries rejected a bid by Nigeria to ban the trade as part of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The European Community, the United States and Sweden felt it was a "tricky business" that was not a matter of trade ties. A political solution under the UN aegis was what was needed.

The toxic waste producers, first and foremost the United States, the "leader of the free world," as the Sudanese delegate resignedly noted, seemed to be mainly interested at the conference in nosing out loopholes.

Washington, he said, insisted on "maximum practicability" and stymied all arrangements that in its eyes amounted to mere "bureaucratic trade barriers."

Mostafa Tolba's outburst of anger, for instance, occurred in connection with the argument that compulsory registration of all export arrangements would merely mean "thousands and thousands of registration forms."

Yet why should it when these hazardous shipments are to be reduced to a minimum?

Mr Tolba intervened a second time to sound the warning note that the industrialised countries were keen to see bilateral agreements permitted alongside international conventions.

Did that mean they planned to sidestep the provisions again? "I thought we were here to draw up a generally valid convention," he said.

After hours of debate the compromise agreed was that waste transactions between two member-countries were only permitted when they were "not irreconcilable with the provisions of the convention."

But the Americans refused to accept this arrangement.

Greenpeace's Ernst Klatte indignantly commented: "They have shut the front door only to open the back door again at the same time."

It was fairly clear that territorial demarcations and detailed liability provisions could not be negotiated in this context; they are equally controversial issues in other international contexts:

Yet agreement was not even reached

in Luxembourg on a definition of the "licit toxic waste trade."

It might, at first glance, seem fairly easy to define, but countries that illegally store toxic waste in other countries would then be obliged to take it back at their own expense.

It will cost the Italian government over \$14m to ship 167 drums of highly toxic waste back from Lebanon and Nigeria, to stockpile it and to decontaminate the freighter *Karin B*.

Environment Minister Ruffolo plans to charge the companies who were responsible for the waste in the first place, and so far 37 of them have been identified by painstaking inquiries.

Two more shiploads of toxic waste are still on their way back from Nigeria.

There has been no discussion at all so far on the crucial issue of the powers to be exercised by the secretariat Nigeria has suggested might be set up to monitor the trade as a "dump watch."

Will it have sufficient funds and manpower? How detailed must the information be that waste exporters must submit? Who is to have access to this information?

Will it, as Turkey has suggested, publish details of the toxic waste trade to bring international pressure to bear on industry and governments?

Will it at the same time be a centre providing Third World countries with access to new waste elimination techniques?

The industrialised countries are likely to agree to the setting-up of a mere alibi body.

Even so, the 50 delegates reached agreement on a limited ban. Toxic waste may be shipped neither to countries that are not parties to the convention nor to countries that have imposed an import ban.

They so far total 39 African, Pacific, Latin American, Caribbean and South East Asian countries.

Environmental protection organisations called for a blanket export ban. It would bring pressure to bear on industry to develop new manufacturing techniques that did not result in toxic waste as by-product.

Yet even Mostafa Tolba was against this idea. Toxic waste was produced in growing quantities in poor countries with no disposal facilities of their own. They had no choice but to export it, he said.

Tanzania, for instance, has a stockpile of about 200 tonnes of wrongly-stored pesticides that can no longer be used. On its own Tanzania has no means of disposing of this toxic waste.

Greenpeace was instrumental in persuading the UNEP convention to extend the list of substances defined as toxic waste to include sewage sludge, filter dust and domestic garbage.

Greenpeace has evidently graduated from spectacular publicity stunts to a more diplomatic activity. Its observers shrewdly placed important proposals in Luxembourg, advising the delegations of developing countries.

So Mostafa Tolba remains "hopeful and determined," despite all the playing for time, to present Environment Ministers of signatory states with a finished convention draft when they reconvene in Basle on 20 March.

No extra working session is to be held in the meantime. Some delegates were critical about being so pressed for time, but the Swiss government had already sent out invitations to attend this conference.

But the Americans refused to accept this arrangement.

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View from the port towards the Binnen- and Außenalster. Alster water, a brown colour, is a popular drink.  
(Photo: Hamburg-Info/Frelgeg. J. Reg. Pris. Stuttg. Nr. 9/79/194)

## HAMBURG

### A harbour is 800 years old, but you don't have to drink standing up

Few cities offer such a variety of entertainment as Hamburg, where a stranger — presuming he's neither a cynic nor a saint — can spend one or two highly pleasant weeks at any time of the year." So wrote a Scot, John Strang, in 1831 as he began a tour of Germany.

He continued: "During the long summer days, there are two theatres open and, almost every night there is a public concert or a meeting of a musicians club..."

Today, visitors find much the same. There are fewer architectural attractions than in Strang's day. But people are attracted by the hustle and bustle, the cultural life and the shopping.

Many visitors have come over the past few years to see the musical, *Cats*, and have discovered a greener, livelier and friendlier city than they expected.

This year is the 800th birthday of the harbour and *Cats* is still bringing the tourists in. If it doesn't rain for days on end, and that sometimes happens in Hamburg, visitors usually depart with a good impression.

The harbour is always an attraction, even when it rains. But, of course, after 800 years neither the shipping industry nor the harbour itself are what they used to be. In the European rankings, the harbour is now "only" in fourth or fifth place, depending on how it is measured.

But in Germany, it is the top of the list and a sightseeing tour of it is essential. At Landungsbrücken, the departure point, the tourists can be heard asking: big ship or little ship? The answer is: both. Only the *Barkassen*, the little ones, get in closer on the way round. But they rock more."

The harbour is about 87 square kilometres, which means it occupies about a twelfth of Hamburg's surface. It has 235 kilometres of shoreline; there are 168 kilometres of roads and waterways.

And so on and so on; the man on the ship peppers the stream of information with jokes as the boat passes other *Barkassen*, tugs, cranes, locks, warehouses, past the second-biggest floating dock in the world, past the remains of a former U-boat bunker, past the

largest complex of warehouses in the world, and more.

Over there are tanks filled with rum or whisky; that ship riding at anchor over there is filled with schnapps...

Hamburg's second biggest attraction is St. Pauli with its Reeperbahn and Grosser Freiheit, infamous the world over. But it is disappointing, at least from the outside. Travel through in a tourist bus during the day and you see not the establishments themselves but the drab buildings that house them.

At night, the dinginess vanishes and is replaced by the glitter and dazzle of the world of street girls and strip teases. You have to hand it to St. Pauli: there's not much that doesn't happen at the sex shows.

It is best to ask first about which club to visit. Don't let yourself be talked into going into a club by one of the many touts who keep up a stream of persuasive chatter outside the entrances. Another piece of advice: look carefully at the price list before ordering. Strangers often find themselves having to pay huge bills.

Aids has muddied the waters of certain enjoyments. And so, on the Reeperbahn and the side streets, other types of

entertainment are becoming more evident. There are even two theatres in the area, including the one where *Cats* has been running for three years. There are discos with live interludes featuring well-known pop groups.

Swimming in the Alster was common in the 19th century, but not now — even though the brown fen water is said by the authorities to be again clean enough to swim in.

Certainly 23 types of fish and a few river crabs do now flourish. If you want to drink Alster water, the best way is to ask for a glass of it at a pub or restaurant (*Alsterwasser*) you'll be served a shandy, a mixture of beer and lemonade.

Where there is a lot of water there are also a lot of bridges. The astounding fact is that Hamburg has more bridges than any other city in Europe. Venice has 450, which is way down the list; Amsterdam has about 600, which is better; London has 850, still better; but Hamburg, with 2,100, is a way out on its

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international big-yacht regatta; special exhibitions including one showing ship's menus from the 19th century; an international theatre and ballet festival; a musical event commemorating Klaus Störtebeker (a real-enough Hamburg pirate of legendary deed); a film festival with prize-themed themes; soccer matches; and firework displays above the Alster. The entire celebration will have as its centrepiece a super-festival around the harbour from 3 May until 7 May.

In the first five months of that year 25,000 refugees entered the country. The

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## FRONTIERS

### A Turkish-born politician had to run the gauntlet

Sevim Celebi-Gottschlich was born in Turkey. She has just completed a two-year term as a deputy for the Alternative List (ecologists) in the Berlin assembly. It was a battle all the way. Even her own party was often less than helpful. Susanne Mayer reports for the Hamburg weekly, *Die Zeit*.

Tourists like the *Wasserlichtorgel* with its display of water and light offering figurative representations of musical interpretation. Hamburg's pensioners favour the sound shell for concerts just a little bit further on. In the summer, orchestras play on Saturday and Sunday afternoons and you can dance to the music. There are more older women than older men, so many ladies go alone, even to dance. The spontaneity often surprises the outsider.

Equally surprising for some is the elegance of the city's shopping malls. Now so many have sprung up that, even when the weather is bad, a full day's shopping can be planned. The gastronomic side is an important part of the shopping canyons. The doorman at the Wedding borough Town Hall in West Berlin did his job well, keeping out unauthorised persons. This included, as he thought, the frail, dark-skinned woman with wild wisps of hair like Medusa. She had a little girl by her named Eyla, meaning "Crescent Moon".

The doorman did not know that, of course, nor did he know how these two had been able to get to the centre of his domain, to the very doorway of a reception for the Swedish Prime Minister. In gear Carlsson.

"You've lost your way," he hissed. "Go." They do not trust foreigners. They really feel pity for them. That means they say: Ah the poor people. We must help them.

They can do that with refugees. But worker immigrants no longer let themselves be taken by the hand. They speak up for themselves. Then it appears that the Germans always know how to do things better. Now she was in a fury. "That's modern colonialism," she said.

Sevim Celebi-Gottschlich said: "It was very embarrassing for everyone." She looked as if it had been embarrassing for her as well, but there was no reason for that.

Sevim Celebi-Gottschlich is an Alternative List (AL) member of the Berlin Parliament and as such had been invited to the reception for the Swedish Prime Minister (she found out too late for her to arrange a baby-sitter for her daughter).

For the past two years Alternative List members of the Berlin Parliament in the Schöneberg Town Hall have operated a rotation system. Eventually Sevim Celebi's turn came to take a seat in the Parliament, the first person of Turkish origin to sit in a German parliament.

This has caused a series of embarrassments, but this was the least of them. For Eyla was put on a sofa, given a fruit juice to drink and gently told to be very quiet during the cocktail party.

She had said to her mother 20 years ago, to get her way to come to Germany: "Either I get out of here or they take out my dead body."

The "here" was a Jerry-built house in the poor quarter of Ankara. Her mother was a cleaning woman. Her daughter helped her and was her friend.

But they were not willing to accept things as they were. She could not care a damn. She was told to put herself at the beck and call of men. She was told to bind her hair and put on black stockings. Her teacher kicked her in the shins when she discovered her wearing white stockings.

Everything went like greased lightning when her mother capitulated and gave her 500 lire, about DM30, for a visa application.

At the end of the week she was sitting next to her handle-less suitcase at Istanbul Airport and said goodbye to the family.

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man Derby, the horse-race at Horner Rennbahn.

There is also Dom, the biggest festival in the north of the country, summer events on the Alster and the German tennis championships at Rothenbaum. And, of course, this year is something special because it is the 800th birthday of the harbour. And there are half-measures: 47 million marks have been set aside to celebrate it.

There will be parades of ships; an in-

ity in a postcard. She said: "That was really a bitter experience."

When the plane landed at Berlin's Tempelhof Airport on a dull day in July 1970 she was in despair. She wept so much she could not give her particulars.

Anyone who is in doubt that Sevim Celebi is not competent to speak for worker immigrants should listen to her story.

She worked on the production line at Siemens for DM2.20 an hour, doing the same movements with her hands all the time: place the screw-driver inside, turn it a little, watch out for the little lamp and turn the screw again and again. She worked in three shifts.

Her new home was a room, four beds, a table, four chairs. It was like being in a camp.

She wanted to get out of all that and she did. She worked at Siemens for two years. For three months she sewed the hems of overcoats.

She sold articles for presents in a department store and worked as a cashier at the pay-in in a supermarket. She went through the tests for a taxi-driver's licence.

After working five years she was eligible for a student grant she studied at night school for her O-levels. She worked on social studies.

For a long time she involved herself in local affairs, in district groups and shops selling Third World goods, on an aliens committee and a Turkish women's group.

In this group she squatted in a house, the large yellow one over there," she said. The squatters included 18 women and children. The workers beat them, but did not evict them.

This was done by anxiety, the foreign worker's anxiety about German law. These workers are nothing before the law.

Sevim Celebi said in her maiden speech before Berlin's House of Parliament on 10 September 1987:

"You asked for workers and people came. No-one gave a thought as to how we would manage in everyday life, work with the machinery in the factories or deal with the foreign language in this country. The main thing is that we were healthy and dumb."

(There was considerable agitation among the CDU members of the House. Alternative List Kuhn said: "Listen, you ignorant people.")

Sevim Celebi's political opponents had one problem trying to listen to her; she began her maiden speech in Turkish. (Representative Simon (CDU) said: "The President of the House must reprimand her.")

She began her work with dash, putting in 60 hours a week, she said, for which her family suffered.

In her new job she was "frighteningly engaged, but purely emotional." She argued with and criticised her opposite number in the House, Rolf-Peter Lange (FDP).

But she misunderstood political skirmishes as personal attacks, according to Heinz Schicks (CDU).

Sevim Celebi gave an interview to Tur-



Struggle right from the start ... Sevim Celebi.  
(Photo: Rheinstraum)

kish cable television, pointing out that she had to reach the people via their media. She was castigated for the interview by the Alternative List as "a right-wing Turk."

She battled for the unlimited right for families to reunite and asked the Turkish consulate for support — and was accused of being in alliance with the fascists.

She supported Islamic religious teaching in German schools — and in so doing disregarded the Alternative List's veto against religious education of all kinds.

At the AL's women's conference last April she said that she had heard the comment that women should only talk to Islamic women when they had taken off their head scarves.

She said: "I asked myself are we dealing with foreigners affairs or just in left-wing politics?"

Her greatest adversary in the AL is the foreigners sector, of all things, which she disparagingly calls "the Germans sector."

Sevim Celebi now sits on the Immigrants Political Forum (IPF), an alliance of 18 various foreigners' organisations such as the Greek Community and the African Culture Centre. It is made up of representatives from over 100 nationalities and operates from Berlin.

She said: "We have been a city receiving immigrants for a long time. There are 240,000 foreigners living here."

With a part of her last parliamentary allowance she intends to turn three musty rooms in the cellar of the house where she lives into offices for the IPF. She proudly pointed to the filthy shop windows and shows the offices from which foreigners will battle for voting rights for foreigners in local elections, in which possibly at the next Berlin election they will put up their own list of candidates, "as a counter-weight to right-wing tendencies," she said.

On the weekend four or five Turkish girls were playing. They greeted her with "Selam." Sevim Celebi said: "My borough of Kreuzberg is so beautiful!"

She was asked if she felt at home here? She said that she would not like to answer this question "so personally."

She referred to the ban on foreigners moving into Wedding. If she, a German citizen since 1983, invited her mother to visit her, they had to wait six months for a visa. She angrily asked: "Is that equal rights?"

Before a visit to their husbands in Germany Turkish women have to sign a statement saying that they would not become pregnant.

"Such a humiliation!" she said. She repeated over and over again that foreigners have the "anxiety that they will always be regarded as scapegoats."

"So is she at home here? Isn't her answer to be understood in the negative?"

Susanne Mayer  
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 3 February 1989)